

## SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

Since the adoption of Maui County's 1990 General Plan which was approved by the Maui County Council in 1991, Maui County has experienced significant changes in its economic, demographic, social and physical environments which must be addressed in the scope of this Countywide Policy Plan. This document presents a comprehensive Policy Plan for the islands of Maui County to the year 2030 and provides the basis for updating the Maui Island Plan as well as nine detailed community plans which include Lanai and Molokai.



### A. PURPOSE OF THE COUNTYWIDE POLICY PLAN

Part I of this Countywide Policy Plan provides broad goals, objectives and policies which portray the desired direction of the County's future. This includes (1) a vision statement and core values for the County to the year 2030; (2) an explanation of the plan making process; (3) a description and background information regarding Maui County today; (4) identification of guiding principles; and (5) a list of countywide goals, objectives and policies related to: <sup>1</sup>

- Education
- Natural Environment
- Social Services and Public Facilities
- Physical Infrastructure
- Cultural Preservation
- Transportation Planning
- Population & Land Use Management
- Economic Development
- Housing Opportunities
- Planning & Good Governance

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<sup>1</sup> Bill 84 (2002) and 53 (2006) require at a minimum that "(5)" above address "population, land use, the environment, the economy, and housing"

Furthermore, this Countywide Policy Plan will provide the policy framework for the development of the Maui Island Plan and the nine community plans that will address the unique character of each of the islands within the County.<sup>2</sup>

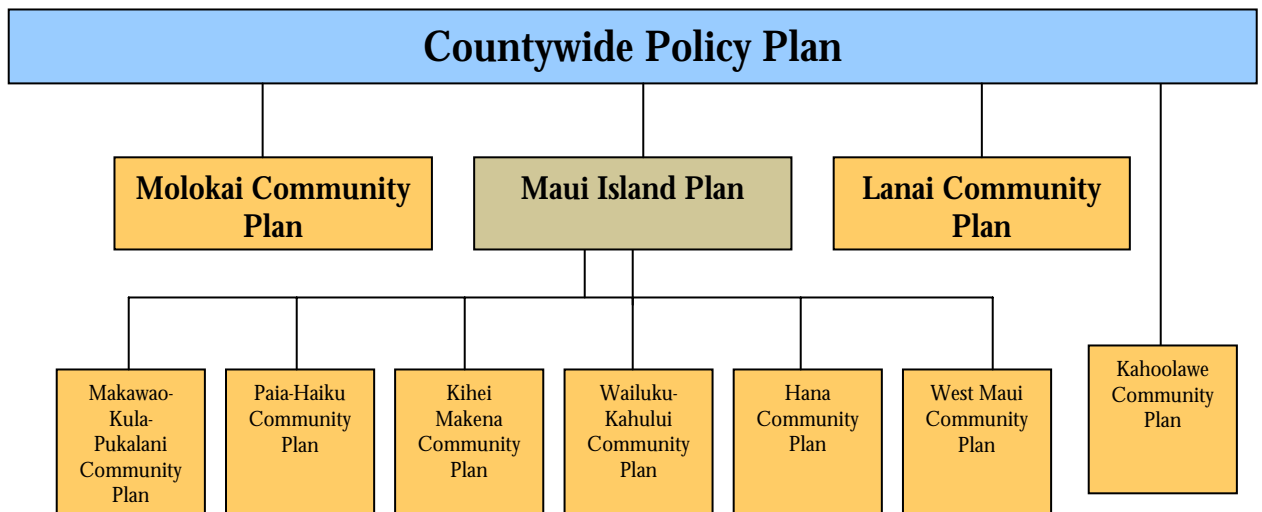
**The Community Plans will address the unique character of each area.**

Part II of this Countywide Policy Plan is an appendix that contains a detailed summary of the history for each of the four major islands that comprise the County of Maui – a significant portion of the Hawaiian Archipelago. This historic section includes useful background material on early Hawaiian society, first western contact, Hawaiian unification under King Kamehameha, early industry, and the commencement of tourism and urban development. Part II is crucial to gaining an understanding of the many conflicts and challenges that are still evident today, appreciating the rich legacy of Hawaiian culture, and discerning a shared vision for the future.

## B. THE PLANNING PROCESS

The General Plan is a term for a bundle of plan documents that guide future growth and policy creation in the County. The Countywide Policy Plan acts as an over-arching values statement and is an umbrella policy document for the Island and Community Plans. The Maui Island Plan will function as a regional plan and address the specific policies relating to regional systems such as transportation, utilities, and growth management for the Island of Maui.

**Figure 1**  
**General Plan Documents**



<sup>2</sup>The islands of Kahoolawe and Molokini are uninhabited islands in the County of Maui; Kahoolawe is designated as an Island Reserve and is managed by the Kahoolawe Island Reserve Commission. Molokini is designated as a State Marine Life and Bird Conservation District. Kahoolawe and Molokini will be discussed only briefly in the Land Use section of this Countywide Policy Plan.

The Community Plans will reflect the unique characteristics of each Community Plan area and enable residents and stakeholders within those areas to address location specific challenges.

Figure 1 illustrates the relationship of the various planning documents that comprise the Maui County General Plan

**The Countywide Policy Plan acts as an over-arching values statement and is an umbrella document for the Island and Community Plans.**

## **1. ENABLING LEGISLATION – MAUI COUNTY CODE CHAPTER 2.80B**

In 2002 the County Council adopted Ordinance 3166 (Bill 84 now MCC 2.80B) which revised the process for updating the Maui County General Plan. 2.80B significantly modified the process for updating the General Plan and Community Plans. 2.80B requires that the General Plan identify and describe the major problems and opportunities regarding the needs and the development of the county as well as the social, economic and environmental effects of development. In addition, MCC 2.80B mandates that the General Plan set forth the desired sequence, patterns and characteristics of future development. 2.80B modified the prior General Plan process by requiring that a Countywide Policy Plan be prepared first, followed by a Maui Island Plan and the nine Community Plans.

## **2. PUBLIC PARTICIPATION**

Over the course of the Countywide Policy Plan update process there will be several formats for public participation including Focus Maui Nui Public Outreach, General Plan Update Outreach events, General Plan Advisory Committee meetings, Planning Commission review, and County Council review.

### **a. Focus Maui Nui Public Outreach**

In 2003, Maui Economic Development Board (MEDB) launched a broad-based public participation process to plan for the future of Maui County, called Focus Maui Nui. The effort brought together over 1,700 participants into intensive, small-group participatory sessions to begin to define a vision for Maui County's future. Residents articulated what they viewed as the key priorities to guide future actions and decision-making. The purpose of Focus Maui Nui was to capture the

**Focus Maui Nui brought over 1,700 participants together to define a vision for Maui County's future.**



local needs, priorities and core values of residents across the County and to identify potential strategies for addressing these challenges, and the parties responsible for carrying out the recommendations. Since the General Plan is a statement of residents' current needs and desires, this Countywide Policy Plan

incorporated the recommendations of Focus Maui Nui, a community-driven process.

Focus Maui Nui was designed to reach under-represented groups not traditionally engaged in civic decision-making by holding 167 facilitated meetings at locations where these groups normally gather. Groups rarely heard from in public formats such as; the homeless, at-risk youth, seniors, Head Start parents, and ethnic and language minorities such as Tongans and Hispanics were engaged on a variety of local issues. Representing all planning districts, all islands and a range of demographic groups as broad as the population of the islands, these participants carefully articulated what they viewed as the key challenges the islands' face.

**Focus Maui Nui facilitated 167 meetings throughout the County to gather citizen input.**

### **b. WalkStory & PlanStory Outreach Events**

The 2003 Focus Maui Nui project provided the basis which informed the Planning Department's development of the Countywide Policy Plan.

In addition Maui County contracted Maui Economic Development Board (MEDB) and Fern Tiger & Associates of Oakland, California to assist with additional public

participation events for Maui residents. The events focused on identifying critical Maui Island policy and land use issues and provided the Planning Department with a means to disseminate critical information about the General Plan Update, display intermediate products and inform the public of ways to participate in the planning process.



### **c. General Plan Advisory Committee (GPAC) Meetings**

MCC 2.80B requires the creation of General Plan Advisory Committees (GPAC) for Maui, Molokai, and Lanai. The Maui GPAC is comprised of 25 members while the Molokai and Lanai GPACs are comprised of 13 members each. GPAC members were either appointed by the mayor or appointed by the County Council through resolution pursuant to MCC 2.80B.040.

The role of the General Plan Advisory Committees (GPACs) for each island is to provide comments, advice, and recommendations to the



Planning Director on the Countywide Policy Plan. The Maui GPAC is also charged with advising the Department on the Maui Island Plan. GPAC recommendations are subsequently reviewed by the Planning Commissions on Maui, Molokai and Lanai. The combined proposed revisions of the GPAC's and the Planning Commissions are in turn provided to the County Council. Each GPAC is given four months to review and provide recommendations to the Planning Director on the Countywide Policy Plan. The Maui Island GPAC is given six months to review and provide recommendations to the Planning Director on the Maui Island plan.

**The GPACs' role is to provide comments, advice, and recommendations to the Planning Director on the Countywide Policy Plan.**

#### **d. Planning Commission and County Council Review**

Planning Commission and County Council examination are important public review processes in and of themselves. During these formal review periods, there were numerous opportunities for public comment. The enabling legislation, Chapter 2.80B, offers the Planning Commission up to 120 days to review the Countywide Policy Plan and the County Council is afforded one year.



## C. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The islands of Maui County are blessed with dramatic physical beauty, a blend of cultures and traditional arts, and ideal climatic and environmental conditions. Loved by its residents, its caretakers, and by millions of visitors, Maui County is distinctive throughout the world, and even within the Hawaiian archipelago. Once



connected above the ocean's surface, the rise of ocean levels and the erosion and settling of the very young lands created five distinct islands. Maui, Lanai, Molokai, Kahoolawe, Molokini and a collection of small islands comprise Maui County.

Maui County's past  
has created the  
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In a rapidly developing and increasingly homogenous global society, losing the places and characteristics that make Maui unique and special would be a tragedy. As a preliminary step in planning for the future of Maui County, it is imperative to collectively reflect upon the past. Maui's past has significantly influenced the challenges and opportunities that present and future island generations face. This chapter is intended to summarize the history of Maui County as defined by its distinct stages, initiated by key events or decisions which have converged to form present day Maui County.

The decisions and events of the past provide valuable lessons that aid priority setting and decision making. Chief among the concerns are:

- *Loss of cultural identity*
- *Land and resource equity issues (that still resonate with the debate over sovereignty)*
- *Self-interest dominating community interest*
- *Economic and social polarization*

Understanding the mistakes of the past as lessons for the future will equip the people of Maui County with essential tools for achieving a desired future for the islands.

### 1. EARLY HAWAIIAN SOCIETY

Maui County's original inhabitants traveled from the southern islands of Polynesia across treacherous seas to settle a new home. They developed a successful and sophisticated society that thrived for hundreds of years prior to western contact. For example, the Hawaiians developed a unique system of land

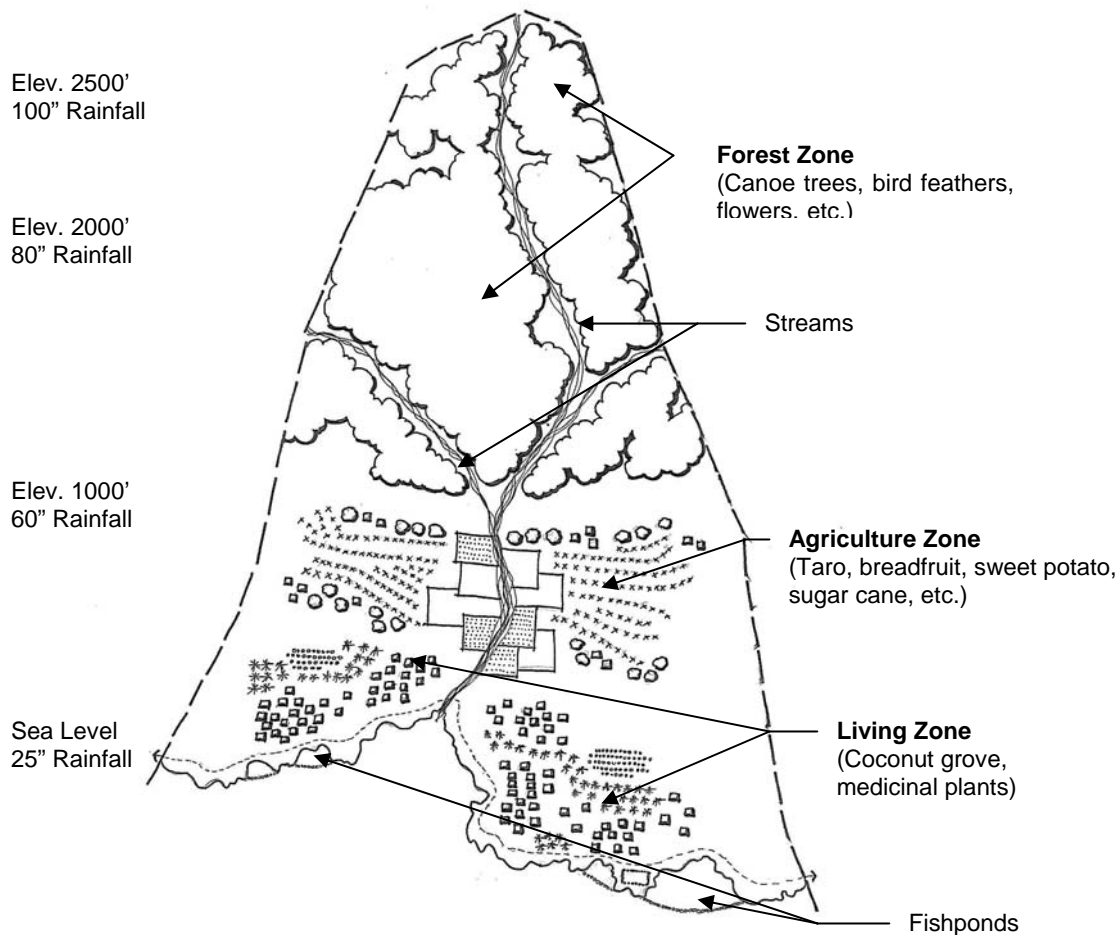
utilization which divided land into large sections called moku. Each moku was comprised of land subdivisions called ahupuaa. “Ahupuaa were usually wedge-shaped sections of land that followed natural geographical boundaries, such as ridgelines and rivers, and ran from mountain to sea. A valley bounded by ridges on two or three sides, and by the sea on the fourth would be a natural ahupuaa.”<sup>3</sup>

Through this land use arrangement the Hawaiians employed a complex system of sustainable agriculture and aquaculture including extensive auwai (irrigation systems) which were developed to water the kalo (taro) fields.

**Ahupuaa were an early system of sustainable land use practices.**

The ahupuaa system is based upon the ecological interdependence of mauka and makai lands<sup>4</sup>. Dividing the land from mountain peak to ocean shore ensured that the inhabitants would be good stewards, given that the over-use of any

**Figure 2: Traditional Ahupuaa**



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<sup>3</sup> Kame`eleihiwa, Lilikala (1992) Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea La E Pono Ai? Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai`i. P 27.

resource within the ahupuaa would only stand to hurt its occupants.

Within streams and along the shoreline, Hawaiians built lokoia (fishponds). These were used for fattening and storing fish for food and as a safe place to protect fish that were spawning. The ponds along the ocean's edge were designed with semi-circular walls of lava boulders and coral which would keep the fish inside while allowing the tide water to ebb and flow keeping the ponds healthy.

These elaborate systems of agriculture and aquaculture were able to sustain upwards of 35,000 people on the island of Maui alone<sup>5</sup>. In 1853 (from our earliest records) there were at least 300 villages on Maui, located on 141 ahupuaa in twelve districts or moku.

## 2. WESTERN CONTACT

While Captain James Cook has been noted as discovering the Hawaiian Islands for the Western World, it was Captain Jean Francois de Galaup de La Perouse, in 1786, who was the first outsider to set foot on Maui's shore and interact with the Hawaiians. The explorations of these two captains denoted the beginning of Hawaii's introduction to the Western World and vice versa. In the following years, missionary work, the whaling industry and the flourishing trade of diverse goods brought American and European immigrants to the islands.

Religious conversion, epidemics, and laws prohibiting traditional practices marked the decline of Hawaiian culture.

In 1795 the islands of Maui (and Kahoolawe), Lanai, Molokai, Hawaii, and Oahu were united under a single monarch, Kamehameha I or Kamehameha the Great, with the assistance of a handful of Europeans and significantly their weapons. Kamehameha I came from Kohala on the Big Island, and established his capital in Lahaina. His court became a welcome venue for Europeans.

Having no resistance to Western diseases, the Hawaiian population suffered significantly with the arrival of foreigners and Maui's population dropped dramatically. Pronouncing a cause and effect relationship between the high death toll and the absence of Christian mores and values, the missionaries converted a majority of Native Hawaiian to the new religion and gradually codified aspects of it into law from 1825-1844. In doing so, they outlawed the sale and manufacture of liquor, intoxication, adultery, prostitution, and idolatry, as well as hula, mele, nudity and surfing. During the reign of Kamehameha II, the Kapu system<sup>6</sup> was ended, and traditional religious and healing practices were banned. In turn, this ban of the old practices marked the initial decline of the Hawaiian culture.

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<sup>4</sup> Mauka and makai are directions. Mauka refers to lands towards the mountain or upland; makai refers to lands towards the ocean

<sup>5</sup> Schmitt, Robert C. (1977) Historical Statistics of Hawai'i. The University Press of Hawai'i. Honolulu Hawai'i.

<sup>6</sup> The Kapu System was a Native Hawaiian system of rules and laws, including societal hierarchy.



Western influence impacted all forms of natural resources. Over time the upland sandalwood forests were lumbered and clear-cut, impacting both the forest ecology and the climate of the islands. All manner of foreign crops and livestock were introduced to the islands. Free-ranging cattle, sheep and goats devoured the islands' native vegetation until eventually the herds had to be culled and managed. Early ranchers, Vaqueros from Vera Cruz, Mexico taught Hawaiians to handle horses and herd cattle. Cattle became the third largest industry in the islands and the ranchers began to seasonally rotate the livestock between pastures at lower and higher elevations and manage the resources more efficiently. With several ranches persisting today on Maui and Molokai, cattle ranching and the paniolo<sup>7</sup> have had a long-lasting effect on the lifestyle and landscapes of Maui County communities.

Land ownership as a concept was first introduced to Hawaii by Westerners. In 1848, Kamehameha III, under immense pressure from foreigners, set into motion **The Great Mahele**. This was the division of land and privatization of land ownership. The Hawaii legislature established a land commission and provided means whereby land claims could be presented and adjudicated. As



part of the Great Mahele, the Kuleana Act of 1850 allowed the Land Commission to award small parcels of land to commoners for subsistence. The King's intent with the Great Mahele and the Kuleana Act was to protect lands from foreign acquisition and provide native Hawaiians with the security of land ownership. However, there existed

a vast disconnect between the king's intentions and the actual events that ensued as a result of the Great Mahele.

Living for hundreds of years with the self-sufficient ahupuaa land tenure system and communal subsistence economy, Hawaiians, particularly commoners, were drastically unaccustomed to the concept of fee simple land ownership. This unfamiliarity coupled with numerous legal and logistical constraints, led to foreign acquisition of lands intended for Native Hawaiians. Many Hawaiian families were required to leave lands they had cultivated for generations and were forced to move to populated towns such as Wailuku and Lahaina. Separated from the land and traditional subsistence lifestyle, displaced Hawaiians for the first time had to find employment in order to purchase food, goods and services. The legacy of this shift in societal values continues to cause strife and imbalance.

**The Great Mahele had the effect of displacing Hawaiians from lands they had cultivated for generations.**

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<sup>7</sup> Paniolo – Hawaiian cowboy

### 3. PLANTATION INDUSTRY

**The sugar cane industry had an enormous impact on the islands resources.**

Following the events of the Great Mahele, Hawaiian land became widely available for private ownership and capitalist development. Sugar had already been proven as a hearty crop on the islands, and in 1828 the first sugar mill was built. In 1876 the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty allowed for duty free admission of Hawaiian sugar to the United States. On Maui, the number of acres cultivated in sugarcane expanded from 5,080 in 1867 to 12,000 in 1880; an increase of 136%<sup>8</sup>. Maui County's sugar industry experienced many stages, beginning with numerous small operations and evolving into a few large plantations. The sugarcane industry had an enormous impact on the islands resources, including water use, worker population and land utilization.



**Much of the County's land remained dedicated to sugar, through the 1990's, which has preserved open space.**

Construction of the Hamakua irrigation ditch on the island of Maui delivered water from East Maui's expansive watershed to the arid plains of Central Maui. The Maui island ditch system included: Hamakua Ditch (1878), Haiku Ditch (1879), and Waihee Ditch (1882). Generally, essential resources, such as water, are held in trust by public entities. Having a privately owned delivery system for water is unique and continues to raise questions about water rights throughout Maui County. In the past, some of the aquifers, from which potable water is drawn, have been damaged from over-use or contamination and the utilization of water as a resource has been and will continue to be a limiting factor for development in Maui County.

With massive growth of the plantation industry, the need for labor also grew, resulting in the importation of workers from Asia, Europe, South and Central America, and the South Pacific Islands, creating incredible ethnic and cultural diversity within the County. In the early 1900's Maui County's sugar and pineapple estates contained multiple plantation camps that housed immigrant workers. These camps were comprised of schools, stores, churches, recreational facilities, clinics and housing.

Much of Maui's agricultural land continued to remain dedicated to sugar production, through the 1990's. This has effectively created a system of land banking. As a result, much of Maui's land is currently dedicated to undeveloped open space and creates beautiful, unencumbered vistas throughout the Central

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<sup>8</sup> Lind, Andrew W. 1938. *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawai'i*. Greenwood Press Publishers. New York, New York.

Valley, West Maui, West Molokai and Lanai. Leaving so much of the islands' lands in agriculture has also reduced the available supply of land for development.

Pineapple became Maui County's second largest industry and also played a role in forming the modern day landscape. Pineapple production was primarily focused in the areas of Haliimaile and Kapalua on Maui and dominated the landscape on the island of Lanai. The majority of Lanai is privately owned and a large part of it was cultivated in pineapple for over six decades. That monoculture caused the island to be known through the latter part of the twentieth century as the "Pineapple Island." The only significant settlement is Lanai City, a 1.2 square-mile plantation town that was built by Hawaiian Pineapple Company to house laborers for its pineapple operations (1923).

**Lanai became known as the "Pineapple Island" as the landscape was used almost solely for pineapple production.**

#### 4. EARLY COUNTY INFRASTRUCTURE



During the late 1880's rail systems were developed to link the fields, processing facilities, and harbors on all of the islands allowing for efficient movement of sugar cane and refined sugar. Eventually these trains carried both products and passengers and were an enormous instigator for the development of Kahului

Harbor. By 1879 a small landing had been erected for passengers and goods at Kahului, on the site of what later became Maui Island's main port of entry.

**The island of Maui had an extensive rail system for passengers and goods.**

During the late 1870s new agricultural water infrastructure was first planned and developed. In 1876 the Hamakua Ditch Company was formed to bring water via a ditch from East Maui Crown Lands to sugar cane fields in Paia. Claus Spreckels, a San Francisco sugar baron, surveyed undeveloped lands, planned a 30-mile ditch and requested rights from Kalakaua to build the irrigation structure. The king granted permission, but his cabinet rescinded it and was summarily dissolved by the king. In the following year, Spreckels nonetheless began construction of Maui's second largest water course from Punaluu to Spreckelsville, which later became known as Spreckels' Ditch or the Haiku Ditch. The second phase of Maui's water infrastructure was constructed after 1900 and supplied additional water to Central Maui and new water sources for West Maui.

The unrestrained use and redirection of water caused problems throughout the County. On Molokai and Lanai aquifers used for drinking and irrigation water were turned brackish when plantation companies carelessly pumped or overdrew water. Private irrigation systems still exist on all of the islands.

**On Molokai and Lanai aquifers turned brackish when plantation companies carelessly pumped or overdrew water.**

Air travel made its Maui debut when an emergency landing strip was built at Maalaea in 1919. Commercial air service from Honolulu was initiated in 1929, after this strip was upgraded to an airfield by Inter-island Airways, Ltd. Inter-island freight and passenger service remained mostly via ship for another thirty years (1952).

Inter-island shipping had been owned and operated by a variety of companies including: Inter-Island Steamship Navigation Co. (1883), Oceanic Steamship Company (1881), Wilder's Steamship Line (1883), and Matson Navigation Company (1901). Two more airfields were built and became operational on Maui during the following decade—at Hamoa, in the Hana vicinity (1935), and at Puunene (1938).

## **5. THE RISE OF TOURISM AND MODERN DEVELOPMENT**

Following World War II the economy in Maui County shifted from sugar and pineapple to a new and promising crop: visitors. With the emergence of new towns, resort destination areas, and community planning, Maui County began a new chapter in its history which laid the groundwork that has evolved to the present day Maui County.

In 1947 Harlan Bartholomew prepared a master plan called “Dream City” for lands surrounding Kahului Harbor. Beginning in 1950 and continuing to 1963, fee simple house and lot packages were sold at prices ranging from \$6,600 to \$9,200. Many of these lots were sold to people that came to Maui to work on the plantations and in search of a better a life. Dream City provided this opportunity. Kahului and Wailuku continued to grow and become the population center of the County.



**Tourism inspired new economic health and population for Maui County.**

As the visitor industry gained momentum Lahaina and Kaanapali became the premier destination within the Hawaiian Islands. With numerous amenities to serve visitors including hotels, restaurants, a shopping center, and a golf course, Kaanapali set a precedent for tourism development statewide. The resort destination area trend continued to grow on Maui with the subsequent development of Kihei, Wailea and Kapalua.

Similar trends were realized on Lanai and Molokai in the 1980s. On Molokai 4,100 acres were purchased for a resort dubbed Kaluakoi, which included a 198-room hotel and 18-hole golf course. Two luxury hotels were built on Lanai at Manele Bay (1991) and the Lodge at Kōele (1990).



With the birth of this new industry the population and economy of the County began to rebound. Resorts and other visitor services provided employment for the County's population and attracted new residents.

The history of the islands has played an enormous role in growing the

visitor industry. While the natural beauty of the islands is enough to sustain a healthy tourism industry, the Maui County multi-ethnic culture is also a primary attraction. The quaint country towns, fusion cuisine and cultural ceremonies play a significant role in the success of this industry today.

## CONCLUSION

Each island within the County has experienced the misuse of natural resources, the loss of cultural assets and political turmoil over the last 200 years. However, there remains a great deal to protect and preserve within the County of Maui and much to learn from the experiences of the past. The islands that comprise Maui County will be passed from one generation to the next and it is for us to preserve this sacred place for future generations, to share it with each other, and ultimately to perpetuate the Hawaiian value of *malamaaina*<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> "The Hawaiian concept of *malama'aina*, literally caring for and living in harmony with the land, demands conservation, sustainable use and enhancement of the local, regional and global environment." University of Hawai'i, values statements.





